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The High Cost of Democracy

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NATIONAL COUNCIL

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Owing to the simultaneous resignation from the staff of "The Revolutionary Age" of John Reed, Eadmonn MacAlpine and Ben Gitlow, due to opposition to the joint call issued by the National Council for a Communist Party Convention on September 1, and financial disorganization, this paper appears in half its usual size. We shall resume sixteen-page publication with our next issue. But money is needed.

Kolchak Collapses

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the fall of the Soviet Government in Hungary through a monarchist coup engineered by the Rumanian army and the Allies, comes the confirmation of the complete collapse of the military power of the "Government" of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia.

This collapse is the answer to the temporary success of the counter-revolution in Hungary. Kolchak, the Czarist adventurer and murderer of the Siberian workers and peasants, who has been financed by the Allies and acclaimed by the bourgeois press, is now no longer a formidable enemy of the Soviet power in Russia. And as long as Soviet Russia persists (and Imperialism prevails) the world revolution is still an issue that must challenge the proletariat of all countries.

So complete is the military disaster of Kolchak that his government is reported about to evacuate Omsk, the capital of the counter-revolutionary government. The Kolchak force have retreated more than eight hundred miles, and lost thousands of prisoners to the Soviet forces, which are thoroughly disciplined and inspired by the revolutionary spirit.

The Yeast Ferments

CONGRESS and the President are discussing plans to end the "general unrest." The press is yelling frantically, now that something should be done, now that too much is being done, always ending with a screech against Bolshevik agitators.

Strikes are multiplying, food prices soaring, and an ugly temper developing among the workers. Union men are becoming insurgent, while union officials boast of "holding down the lid." There are explosions of resentment

against the President, against Congress, against the union officials. All dreams of a placid "reconstruction" period are now at an end; it is clear that our's is an epoch of militant struggles.

The discouraging feature of the situation is that there is no unified revolutionary group to use this critical situation for aggressive agitation and militant action. The Socialist Party still looks to action from the bourgeois state, and indulges in its petty bourgeois liberal propaganda; the I. W. W. has its nose to the grind-stone of petty strikes and organization insularity, not realizing the necessity of uniting all the militant forces of the proletariat; while the Left Wing is still in process of constructing itself for action in the days to come, unable as yet to act.

This situation will be the test of the Communist Party now in process of organization. After the organization of the Communist Party will come a movement conscious of its purposes, capable of merging in the general proletarian movement while maintaining its revolutionary independence and directing the proletariat to conscious revolutionary action against Capitalism.

Communist and Socialist

AN instructive feature of the situation in Hungary is that the Allies were willing to negotiate with a Socialist Government but refused any negotiations with the Communist Soviet power. The new President of Finland, in an interview cabled to the New York Times October 9, said: "The Entente's friends, the Progressives and the Agrarians, combined with the Socialists, elected me to prevent a threatened new outbreak of Red turbulence."

In Hungary and Finland, accordingly, as in Russia and Germany and Austria, the Socialists are against a proletarian revolution, against proletarian dictatorship, become the "friends" of the bourgeoisie and the Allies against the revolutionary Communist proletariat. This is emphasized by the Socialists in all other nations repudiating the necessity of a revolutionary, Communist reconstruction of the proletarian movement.

Socialism, originally a revolutionary movement, is now ultra-reactionary. It is the enemy of the militant proletariat and the revolution. It is a traitor to the revolutionary ideals of traditional Socialism. It is now, in the eyes of the masses and the consciousness of the militant proletariat, the bulwark of Capitalism, directly and indirectly.

Communism, in accord with Marxism and the ideals of the first Communist International and united in the new Communist International is now the carrier of the proletarian revolution. The Communists everywhere are in the front of the great struggle against Imperialism, and their worst opponents are the old Socialists.

There must be a separation of the revolutionary forces from the dominant Socialist movement. The Communist International gathers unto itself all the virile elements of the old Socialist movement and the new revolutionary accessions from the conscious proletariat; it accepts all that is vital in traditional Socialism, restoring it to its original revolutionary integrity plus the new experience of the proletarian revolution in action.

The Socialist who is faithful to his revolutionary ideals must organize in the Communist Party. Any other course is compromise and a repudiation of the revolutionary task.

The Plumb Plan

THE controversy precipitated by the Railway Workers is a vital and interesting one, exposing many aspects of that social problem which must become the great issue in the days to come.

Progress is implied in the Brotherhood proposal because of recognition of the determining fact that labor cannot permanently improve its status by dickering with wages and prices. But the proposal does not develop the implications—the necessity of breaking the power of the capitalists and placing control and management of industry in the communistically organized producers.

The Plumb Plan proposes that the United States Government shall purchase the railways and place them in the control of a government corporation, the Board of Directors of which shall consist of fifteen men—five chosen by the government, five by the officials of the railways and five by the workers. The owners are to be given bonds paying four per cent. interest, these bonds to be "retired" after a period of years. Profits, up to a certain point, are to be divided between the government and the workers, to "retire" the bonds and to lower rates. Financiers are to be dispossessed of managing powers, the roads to become actual organs of transportation instead of material for speculation.

This plan has certain features which, while promoting a more efficient Capitalism (and State Capitalism) would not promote the workers' emancipation:

1) The roads would still pay a tribute to capital, which would possess the means for exploitation.

2) It would make the railroad workers a privileged cast, united with chains of iron to the capitalist state against the whole working class.

3) The application of this plan to the whole of industry is not feasible, since capital must have opportunity for investment, and these would be denied under a universal Plumb Plan in industry.

4) The government representatives on the Board of Directors would necessarily represent general capitalist interests, as would the representatives of the railway officials, who are socially, politically and economically integral parts of the capitalist class.

5) The plan does not break the power of the capitalists or the capitalist state; and the power of the state must first be broken before there can be an actual socialization of industry by and for the workers.

In effect, the Plumb Plan proposes a modification of the power of the capitalists and the lessening of their profits in the railway industry. But capital is a unity; and you cannot socialize one industry while the whole of industry is under the domination of finance-capital. The Plumb Plan, even if it did propose to socialize the railways—which it does not—would be equivalent to sneaking in at the back door.

The railway workers, as other workers, vaguely realize that their burdens are imposed upon them by the profit system. They must end this system. They can end it only by a general assault upon the citadel of Capitalism, by the conquest of the power of the state, and the socialization of industry by means of workers' control and the industrial administration proposed in Communist industrial unionism.

The Left Wing Unites

THE action of the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, and the Central Committee of the Federated Russian Federations in issuing a Joint Call for a Convention on September 1 to organize a Communist Party, ends the split in the Left Wing forces.

This is agreement, not compromise. It unites the actually revolutionary and Communist forces on both sides. The character of the agreement is shown in the vote: the decision of the National Council was by a vote of *five to two*, and that of the Federations by a vote of *eight to four*. A small faction on both sides interested more in personalities and clique control than in the Communist Party opposed this unity of the Left Wing.

The decision of the National Council is in accord with the purposes of the Left Wing Conference of June 21. The Conference favored the organization of an American Communist Party: the disagreement fundamentally was on procedure.

The procedure adopted by the majority of the Conference was to wage the fight within the Socialist Party until the Emergency Convention in order to rally the revolutionary masses for a Communist Party. The struggle was to come to a climax at the Emergency Convention. This implied a separate convention called by the new N. E. C. of the Socialist Party, a convention that would at the start separate the Left Wing forces from the reactionary moderates and constitute a Left Wing convention under Socialist Party auspices to organize a Communist Party. In this way, the struggle to rally the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party could proceed and the new Communist Party become the historical continuation of the revolutionary elements in the old party. It was a procedure that, assuming the unity of the Left Wing forces, would have achieved great results.

But the Conference split. A minority decided to repudiate the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party and proceed directly to the organization of a Communist Party.

The division constituted more than a split in the Left Wing: *it was a split of the real Communist elements in the Left Wing*. The breaking of our organization unity would have been unimportant; but the breaking of our revolutionary unity was disastrous.

The development of events placed both groups in an untenable position. The minority at the Conference learnt that not all who favored a new party were necessarily Communists and were compelled to rely for their English-speaking expression upon comrades whom the Federations themselves admit are not actually Bolshevik, real Communists. The National Council realized that not all who in words accepted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing are necessarily Communists, and was plunged into a struggle with Centrists.

The waging of this struggle to a conclusion meant disaster. It meant that the Federation comrades would more and more depend upon the non-Communists from Michigan (who are essentially parliamentarians, repudiating industrial unionism and mass action) while the National Council of the Left Wing would verge more and more toward the Centre. The fatal logic of trying to "put it over" each other, would make each group draw farther away from the real issue—the organization of a Communist Party adapted to American conditions.

In the minority that seceded from the Left

Wing Conference there was a clique that played petty politics, engaging in a gamble for clique control of the new party.

In the majority at the Left Wing Conference there were Centrists, comrades not concerned exclusively with the organization of a Communist Party but with "modifying" the old party and securing control for themselves as against Germer & Co.

The agreement on a joint call for a convention to organize a Communist Party on September 1 unites the Communist elements in the Left Wing, gives each the opportunity of casting off their non-Communist adherents, and uniting all the Communists irresistibly for the conquest of power in the new party.

There was always a larger issue involved in the secession of the minority from the Left Wing Conference than the small clique interested in control, and that was the Communist Party issue. This issue, on which the Left Wing now unites, evoked an enormous response from the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party for a Communist Party, making as clear as crystal the sentiments of the Left Wing masses.

There was another factor which destroyed the campaign to use the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party as the basis for organizing a Communist Party, and that is the *failure of the new N. E. C. to call a separate Socialist Party Convention under its own auspices*. Left Wing delegates who now go to the Emergency Convention are going to a convention of the old N. E. C., packed by the moderates—a packing that has been more than assured by the expulsion of Massachusetts and Philadelphia since the Left Wing Conference and the coming expulsion of Ohio. In answer to these new conditions, the National Council, realizing that its mandate was to assure the organization of a Communist Party has severed relations with the new N. E. C. and the Emergency Convention, concentrating all its forces for the organization of a Communist Party on September 1.

The controversy within the Left Wing must now end; the few comrades on both sides who are disgruntled with the decision to unite are acting against the Communist Party.

Some of the problems in dispute are still unsolved, but they will be solved at the Communist Party Convention. The task now is to organize the convention, to get an adequate representation of the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party. Upon this task depends the future of the revolutionary movement in this country.

Comrades of the Socialist Party: Upon you depends a great decision. Upon you is now the task of drawing the logical conclusions of your revolutionary purposes, and rallying to the Communist Party. A majority of the new N. E. C. elected by you has issued a declaration in favor of a Communist Party; this new N. E. C. and you, comrades, must now recognize that *the actual fulfillment of this declaration depends upon the Communist Party Convention of September 1*.

It is indisputable that the old party is not in accord with revolutionary Socialism. Deprived of the stimulus of the Left Wing agitation within the party, it must more and more rely upon counter-revolutionary moderates, more and more become a Labor Party in fact if not in name. It is equally indisputable that the masses in our country need a Communist Party, aggressive, alert, rallying the masses for the struggle against Capitalism. There is but one way of answering the call of our revolutionary comrades in Europe and the Communist International, and that is to organize a Communist Party. In spite of all and everything!

The Negro Issue

THE race pogroms organized against the Negro are now apparently under control. Commissions and legislatures are discussing and investigating the "problem," but no action is proposed except such as may maintain the *status quo* or make it worse as against the Negro.

The South cackles in glee at the experience of the North and insists that the only right procedure is to deprive the Negro of all political and social rights, and maintain him in subjection—precisely as the South has done for generations. The politicians of the South are solemnly informing the North that the only way to solve the problem is to repress the Negro; and many of them indicate that mob violence against the Negro and lynching are necessary factors in the process of repressing these submerged people.

All this is contemptible. But the most contemptible aspect of the situation is the exploitation of sex and sex hysteria.

The argument is general that the Negro soldiers were corrupted in France. While in this country they recognized their white "superiors," but in France, is the argument, they were treated as "equals," and they developed "arrogance" in consequence. The fact is that the French have more consideration for the colored races, and acted toward the Negro accordingly. But the lecherous and putrescent minds of certain Americans have distorted this social consideration into a sexual issue; one United States Senator speaks of the Negro soldier as "French-Women ruined." None but a poisonous mind could speak in this fashion.

A member of Congress introduces a measure to prohibit inter-marriage between white and colored people. The whole issue of the equality of the Negro is being consciously distorted into whether white and colored persons should marry. But this is a perversion of the issue.

Equality for the Negro has nothing to do with intermarriage; it is a demand for economic, political and social equality. The whites can accord the Negro equality without being compelled to accept marriage. The hypocrisy of this whole intermarriage issue is exposed in the large numbers of mulattoes in the South, the product of white cohabitation with Negro women, particularly by the "old manor" aristocracy which is most insistent upon maintaining the "purity" of the white race.

The Negro issue is an economic and political issue. The Negro problem is developed by the designs of the propertied classes to maintain the workers in subjection, and accomplish this in a measure by dividing the Negro and white workers on a race issue,—precisely as in California the propertied interests use the Japanese to inflame racial hatred and divert the minds of the workers from the class struggle.

The Negro constitutes a large portion of our proletariat. The white workers must realize that there can be no emancipation for them without the co-operation of the Negro, just as there can be no co-operation for the white workers if the Negro is allowed to become the reactionary tool of the capitalist interests.

As a preliminary toward the achievement of Negro equality, it is necessary for him to achieve *class equality*—the recognition by the white and colored workers of their identity of interests as a class, their equality in economic bondage, and their equality of purpose in destroying economic oppression as the only means of securing social and economic equality.

Shall the Beast Rape Mexico?

THE claws of the Big Brute of North America are on Mexico's throat!

The nation trembles and well she may. "Intervention" is imminent and she knows what intervention will mean—strangulation, torture and slavery. Like starving India and wretched Ireland in the grip of England, will Mexico be if intervention comes and she is made the hopeless toy of the lecherous lusts of the Big Brute, American plutocracy.

Yet she has nothing else to expect. Allied Imperialism, the consummate product of international Capitalism, the cruel tiger that out of the fierce fight in the jungle of Junkerism has gained preeminence over the other beasts of the forest, licks its chops and snaps its jaws in gleeful anticipation of the feast that awaits it.

Allied Imperialism won its war to eliminate Germany as a commercial competitor, but it has other tasks to be attended to. Mexico, innocent, unsophisticated, untamed little vixen that she is, has taunted and defied the Beast. She refused to help it in its late death-struggle. She has dared to try to be independent, free, and even scornful, first of his sickening caresses and then of his ugly threats. She must be chastened, humbled and put in chains.

* * *

Intervention is probably inevitable, sooner or later, unless revolution breaks out in England or the United States quickly enough to compel the governments of those countries to turn their guns on the working classes at home instead of on the Mexican people. The only other way by which intervention can possibly be prevented, is by waging a powerful agitation in the United States to awaken the workers and bring proletarian mass pressure upon the government. If immediate action is taken and the truth told about the sinister scheme to annex Mexico, intervention may be avoided. But no time must be wasted and if there is any delay about it, Morgan and Hearst will already have accomplished their object and American troops will be on the border. Even now, millions of people in the United States are being swayed, little by little, by the

An Appeal from Mexico City.

torrent of newspaper and magazine articles written by highly paid writers and containing the most inflammatory and baseless lies about conditions in Mexico. The same tactics were successfully employed in persuading the American people to take England's side and help overthrow Germany. American sentiment was just a smuch against entering the European war then as it is now against invading Mexico, but American sentiment can be changed this time just as it was changed in 1917-18, if the job of converting the people is undertaken promptly enough.

The prospects, then, of averting intervention by an educational campaign in the United States, are not encouraging for the simple reason that the militarists, munition makers and war profiteers were on the job long before the Pacifists and anti-interventionists.

The prospects of intervention being averted by revolution in England or the United States, are also doubtful. Revolution will come in both these countries, probably in England first. The workers of the United States are not ready for it and intervention will, I fear, be a reality long before they get ready for industrial democracy. The workers of England are much more advanced, as a whole, than those in the United States, and the Great Change may happen in the former country at any time. Yet it is unlikely that even England will be socialized before Mexico is quivering under the paw of Anglo-American Imperialism.

* * *

The war with Germany and the brutal terms imposed on the people of the defeated nations, did not sate the blood-thirst and money-lust of the financial masters of the world. On the contrary, they are hungrier and greedier than ever. An attack on Mexico is their logical next act.

After Mexico is bound and gagged and raped and robbed, two other wars are unavoidably predestined unless the Social Revolution comes first. One is the war of American Capitalism against British Capitalism. Wall Street is suspicious and jealous, even now, of Lon-

don's financial strength, and nothing short of ruthless, merciless war will remove England as a trade rival. Signs of the coming conflict may be seen already in the dispute between American and English papers as to which nation really won the war. The war between the United States and England, if it actually matures, will be more frightful and terrible than the late war.

The other of the two wars likely to follow that with Mexico, is the long-dreaded, often-predicted conflict between the United States and the new Prussia of the Orient, Japan. This war is also inevitable if Capitalism does not crash down before the time is ripe. Such a war would draw into the maelstrom of murder most or all of the white nations on the one side and most or all of the other races on the other.

However, the Anglo-American war and the Occidental-Oriental war, are likely to be killed in embryo by the death of their parent, the capitalist system.

Not so the American-Mexican war. The odds are in favor of it, much as I hate to admit it and hotly as my blood boils at the thought of such an indefensible, unrighteous assault on a kindly, inoffensive people. It may not be now. It may not be for a year or a couple of years or even five years, but sooner or later, if the capitalist system lasts, Mexico will be riveted by the chains of Wall Street slavery. It is as certain as the dawning of another day.

Mexico has one hope, one real hope and only one. It is Socialism in the United States and England. The overthrow of Capitalism in the nations that want to annex her, will destroy the incentive for annexations. Nothing else will and as long as the incentive remains, intervention is the inescapable consequence of the expanding trade needs of the present Anglo-American alliance.

Capitalist governments care nothing for murdered men, violated women, starving children. They care only for profits, profits, profits. If the price of these profits is Mexican blood and tears, Mexican agony and suffering, they will pay the price without a qualm.

The Hour of Trial in Hungary

By A. Nyemanov

THE Hungarian Soviet Republic which was proclaimed on March 3 fell in a desperate fight with the thousand-headed hydra of international Imperialism. On August 1st the Bela Kun government was forced to resign and on August 3rd the Hungarian Soviet Republic was re-named the Hungarian Peoples Republic, with the moderate Socialist elements at its head.

Let us pause and review the events which have transpired during the last two weeks.

On July 26th the most important representative of international Imperialism, Clemenceau, appealed to the Hungarian people to overthrow the Soviet government and replace it with a government of the "people." In this appeal Clemenceau emphasized the statements that the Allies would refuse peace to the Soviets, that the blockade would continue and that Hungary sooner or later would be forced to yield because of starvation.

The entire appeal reeked with hatred and threats against the revolutionary proletariat of Hungary. It also contained statements suggestive of Wilson's playing with the Ger-

man people. Posing as the friend of the Hungarian masses, Clemenceau tried to win over with promises of a "fair deal" those centrist elements which had hesitatingly and half-heartedly supported the Soviet Power. In this entry into Budapest with savage butchery is nothing but the embodiment of the hatred of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Kun was right, when in his last speech made at the meeting of Soviet representatives, he prophesied how horrible would be the reign of terror following the fall of the proletarian government.

We can utter no word of blame against the Communists. They did not surrender until the Hungarian proletariat and the Hungarian poor could endure no longer the blockade. For four months the masses of the people gave hearty support to the Government of the People's Commissars in their valiant fight against the enemy that advanced from every side. Cut off from communication with the world and with Soviet Russia, nine million people were being strangled by the relentless clutch of the Allies. Not only did they have to wage war with the Czecho-Slovaks, the Serbians, the

Rumanians, Italians and colonial divisions of the French army. They had also to fight their own Kornilovs, made powerful by the backing of the foreign imperialists. Just as in 1848 the Holy Alliance using the swords of Nicholas' soldiers brought "peace and order" to Hungary, so in 1919 the Holy Alliance of English-French-American imperialists resurrected the reactionary ideals of Nicholas.

But the historical background of to-day is not that of 1848. With revolutionary sentiment ever increasing throughout Europe the Hungarian Commune may yet return to life. No usurpation of power can erase from the minds of the working class the experiences that were theirs during the construction of the Soviet. The inspiring memory of the abolition of age-long oppression, of the triumph of Socialism no one can destroy. The words of Bela Kun must and will be realized, of the day to come when the Hungarian people can once more rejoice in a Soviet government. And it is our task to hasten that day by dedicating ourselves to the firm establishment of International Communism.

Soviet Russia and Peace

By ARTHUR RANSOME

THERE was a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Soviet Government on February 10, to consider the Allied invitation to the Prinkipo Conference and Chicherin's note in answer.

Before proceeding to an account of that meeting, it will be well to make a short summary of the note in question. Chicherin, after referring to the fact that no invitation had been addressed to them and that the absence of a reply from them was being considered as the rejection of a proposal they had never received, said that in spite of the more and more favorable position, the Russian Soviet Government considered a cessation of hostilities so desirable that it was ready immediately to begin negotiations, and, as it had more than once declared, to secure agreement "even at the cost of serious concessions in so far as these should not threaten the development of the Republic." "Taking into consideration that the enemies against whom it has to struggle borrow their strength of resistance exclusively from the help shown them by the powers of the Entente, and that these powers are the only actual enemy of the Russian Soviet Government, the latter addresses itself precisely to the powers of the Entente, setting out the points on which it considers such concessions possible with a view for the ending of every kind of conflict with the aforesaid powers." There follows a list of the concessions they are prepared to make. The first of these is recognition of their debts, the interest on which, "in view of Russia's difficult financial position and her unsatisfactory credit," they propose to guarantee in raw materials. Then, "in view of the interest continually expressed by foreign capital in the question of the exploitation for its advantage of the natural resources of Russia, the Soviet Government is ready to give to subjects of the powers of the Entente mineral, timber and other concessions, to be defined in detail, on condition that the economic and social structure of Soviet Russia shall not be touched by the internal arrangements of these concessions." The last point is that which aroused most opposition. It expresses a willingness to negotiate even concerning such annexations, hidden or open, as the Allies may have in mind. The words used are: "The Russian Soviet Government has not the intention of excluding at all costs consideration of the question of annexations, etc. . . ." Then, "by annexations must be understood the retention of this or that part of the territory of what was the Russian Empire, not including Poland and Finland, of armed forces of the Entente or of such forces as are maintained by the governments of the Entente or enjoy their financial, military, technical or other support." There follows a statement that the extent of the concessions will depend on the military position. Chicherin proceeds to give a rather optimistic account of the external and internal situation. Finally he touches on the question of propaganda. "The Russian Soviet Government, while pointing out that it cannot limit the freedom of the revolutionary press, declares its readiness, in case of necessity, to include in the general agreement with the powers of the Entente the obligation not to interfere in their internal affairs." The note ends thus: "On

Report of a Meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets

the foregoing basis the Russian Soviet Government is ready immediately to begin negotiations either on Prinkipo island or in any other place whatsoever with all the powers of the Entente together or with separate powers of their number, or with any Russian political groupings whatsoever, according to the wishes of the powers of the Entente. The Russian Soviet Government begs the powers of the Entente immediately to inform it whether to send its representatives, and precisely when and by what route." This note was dated February 4th, and was sent out by wireless.

From the moment when the note appeared in the newspapers of February 5th, it had been the main subject of conversation. Every point in it was criticized and counter-criticized, but even its critics, though anxious to preserve their criticism as a basis for political action afterwards, were desperately anxious that it should meet with a reply. No one in Moscow at that time could have the slightest misgiving about the warlike tendencies of the revolution. The overwhelming mass of the people and of the revolutionary leaders want peace, and only continued warfare forced upon them could turn desire for peace into desperate, resentful aggression. Everywhere I heard the same story: "We cannot get things straight while we have to fight all the time." They would not admit it, I am sure, but few of the Soviet leaders who have now for eighteen months been wrestling with the difficulties of European Russia have not acquired, as it were in spite of themselves, a national, domestic point of view. They are thinking less about world revolution than about getting bread in Moscow, or increasing the output of textiles, or building river power-stations to free the northern industrial district from its dependence on the distant coal-fields. I was consequently anxious to hear what the Executive Committee would have to say, knowing that there I should listen to some expression of the theoretical standpoint from which my hard-working friends had been drawn away by interests nearer home.

The Executive Committee met as usual in the big hall of the Hotel Metropole, and it met as usual very late. The sitting was to begin at seven, and, foolishly thinking that Russians might have changed their nature in the last six months, I was punctual and found the hall nearly empty, because a party meeting of the Communists in the room next door was not finished. The hall looked just as it used to look, with a red banner over the presidium and another at the opposite end, both inscribed "The All Russian Executive Committee," "Proletariat of all lands, unite," and so on. As the room gradually filled, I met many acquaintances.

Old Professor Pokrofsky came in, blinking through his spectacles, bent a little, in a very old coat, with a small black fur hat, his hands clasped together, just as, so I have been told, in its manner to rouse enthusiasm of any kind, he walked unhappily to and fro in the fortress at Brest during the second period of the negotiations. I did not think he would recognize me, but he came up at once, and reminded me

of the packing of the archives at the time when it seemed likely that the Germans would take Petrograd. He told me of a mass of material they are publishing about the origin of the war. He said that Finland came out of it best of anybody, but that France and Russia showed in a very bad light.

Just then, Demian Biedny rolled in, fatter than he used to be (admirers from the country send him food) with a round face, shrewd laughing eyes, and cynical mouth, a typical peasant, and the poet of the revolution. He was passably shaved, his little yellow moustache was trimmed, he was wearing new leather breeches, and seemed altogether a more prosperous poet than the untidy ruffian I first met about a year or more ago before his satirical poems in "Pravda" and other revolutionary papers had reached the heights of popularity to which they have since attained. In the old days before the revolution in Petrograd he used to send his poems to the revolutionary papers. A few were published and scandalized the more austere and serious-minded revolutionaries, who held a meeting to decide whether any more were to be printed. Since the revolution, he has rapidly come into his own, and is now a sort of licensed jester, flagellating Communists and non-Communists alike. Even in this assembly he had about him a little of the manner of Robert Burns in Edinburgh society. He told me with expansive glee that they had printed two hundred and fifty thousand of his last book, that the whole edition was sold in two weeks, and that he had had his portrait painted by a real artist. It is actually true that of his eighteen different works, only two are obtainable today.

All this time the room was filling, as the party meeting ended and the members of the Executive Committee came in to take their places. I was asking Litvinov whether he was going to speak, when a little hairy energetic man came up and with great delight showed us the new matches invented in the Soviet laboratories. Russia is short of matchwood, and without paraffin. Besides which I think I am right in saying that the bulk of the matches used in the north came from factories in Finland. In these new Bolshevik matches neither wood nor paraffin is used. Waste paper is a substitute for one, and the grease that is left after cleaning wool is a substitute for the other. The little man, Berg, secretary of the Presidium of the Council of Public Economy, gave me a packet of his matches. They are the matches in a folding cover that used to be common in Paris. You break off a match before striking it. They strike and burn better than any matches I have ever bought in Russia, and I do not see why they should not be made in England, where we have to import all the materials of which ordinary matches are made. I told Berg I should try to patent them and so turn myself into a capitalist. Another Communist, who was listening, laughed, and said that most fortunes were founded in just such a fraudulent way.

Then there was Steklov of the "Izvestia," Madame Kolontai, and a lot of other people whose names I do not remember. Little Bu-

narin, the editor of "Pravda" and one of the most interesting talkers in Moscow, who is ready to discuss any philosophy you like, from Berkeley and Locke down to Bergson and William James, trotted up and shook hands. Suddenly a most unexpected figure limped through the door. This was the lame Eliava of the Vologda Soviet, who came up in great surprise at seeing me again, and reminded me how Radek and I, hungry from Moscow, astonished the hotel of the Golden Anchor by eating fifteen eggs apiece, when we came to Vologda last Summer (I acted as translator during Radek's conversations with the American Ambassador and Mr. Lindley). Eliava is a fine, honest fellow, and had a very difficult time in Vologda, where the large colony of foreign embassies and missions naturally became the centre of disaffection in a district which at the time was full of inflammable material. I remember when we parted from him, Radek said to me that he hardly thought he would see him alive again. He told me he had left Vologda some three months ago and was now going to Turkestan. He did not disguise the resentment he felt towards M. Nouzens (the French Ambassador), who, he thought, had stood in the way of agreement last year, but said that he had nothing whatever to say against Lindley.

At last there was a little stir in the raised presidium, and the meeting began. When I saw the lean, long-haired Avanesov take his place as secretary, and Sverdlov, the president, lean forward a little, ring his bell, and announce that the meeting was open and that "Comrade Chicherin has the word," I could hardly believe that I had been away six months.

Chicherin's speech took the form of a general report on the international situation. He spoke a little more clearly than he was used to do, but even so I had to walk round to a place close under the tribune before I could hear him. He sketched the history of the various steps the Soviet Government has taken in trying to secure peace, even including such minor "peace offensive" as Litvinov's personal telegram to President Wilson. He then weighed, in no very hopeful spirit, the possibilities of this last Note to all the Allies having any serious result. He estimated the opposing tendencies for and against war with Russia in each of the principal countries concerned. The growth of revolutionary feeling abroad made imperialistic governments even more aggressive towards the Workers' and Peasants' Republic than they would otherwise be. It was now making their intervention difficult, but no more. It was impossible to say that the collapse of Imperialism had gone so far that it had lost its teeth. Chicherin speaks as if he were a dead man or a ventriloquist's lay figure. And indeed he is half-dead. He has never learnt the art of releasing himself from drudgery by handing it over to his subordinates. He is permanently tired out. You feel it is almost cruel to say "Good morning" to him when you meet him, because of the appeal to be left alone that comes unconsciously into his eyes. Partly in order to avoid people, partly because he is himself accustomed to work at night, his section of the Foreign Office keeps extraordinary hours, is not to be found till about five in the afternoon and works till four in the morning. The actual material of his report was interesting, and while through it the audience listened with attention it only woke into real animation when with a shout of laughter it heard an address sent to Clemenceau by the emigre financiers, aristocrats and bankrupt politicians of the Russian colony in Stockholm, protesting against any sort of agreement with the Bolsheviks.

Bucharin followed Chicherin. A little eager

figure in his neat brown clothes (bought, I think, while visiting Berlin as a member of the Economic Commission), he at least makes himself clearly heard, though his voice has a funny tendency to breaking. He compared the present situation with the situation before Brest. He had himself (as I well remember) been, with Radek, one of the most violent opponents of the Brest peace, and he now admitted that at that time Lenin had been right and he wrong. The position was now different, because whereas then Imperialism was split into two camps fighting each other, it now showed signs of uniting its forces. He regarded the League of Nations as a sort of capitalist syndicate, and said that the difference in the French and American attitude towards the League depended upon the position of French and American capital. Capital in France was so weak, that she could at best be only a small shareholder. Capital in America was in a very advantageous position. America therefore wanted a huge All-European syndicate in which each state would have a certain number of shares. America, having the greatest number of shares, would be able to exploit all the other nations. This is a fixed idea of Bucharin's, and he has lost no opportunity of putting out this theory of the League of Nations since the middle of last summer. As for Chicherin's Note, he said it had at least great historical interest on account of the language it used, which was very different from the hypocritical language of ordinary diplomacy. Here were no phrases about noble motives, but a plain recognition of the facts of the case. "Tell us what you want," it says, "and we are ready to buy you off, in order to avoid armed conflict." Even if the Allies gave no answer the Note would still have served a useful purpose and would be a landmark in history.

Litvinov followed Bucharin. A solid, jolly, round man, with his peaked grey fur hat on his head, rounder than ever in fur-collared, thick coat, his eye-glasses slipping from his nose as he got up, his grey muffler hanging from his neck, he hurried to the tribune. Taking off his things and leaving them on a chair below, he stepped up into the tribune with his hair all rumpled, a look of extreme seriousness on his face, and spoke with a voice whose capacity and strength astonished me who had not heard him speak in public before. He spoke very well, with more sequence than Bucharin, and much vitality, and gave his summary of the position abroad. He said (and Lenin expressed the same view to me afterwards) that the hostility of different countries to Soviet Russia varied in direct proportion to their fear of revolution at home. Thus France, whose capital had suffered most in the war and was weakest, was the most un-

compromising, while America, whose capital was in a good position, was ready for agreement. England, with rather less confidence, he thought was ready to follow America. Need of raw material was the motive tending towards agreement with Russia. Fear that the mere existence of Labor Government anywhere in the world strengthens the revolutionary movement elsewhere, was the motive for the desire to wipe out the Soviet at all cost. Chicherin's note, he thought, would emphasize the difference between these opposing views and would tend to make impossible an alliance of the capitalists against Russia.

Finally, Kamenev, now President of the Moscow Soviet, spoke, objecting to Bucharin's comparison of the peace now sought with that of Brest Litovsk. Then everything was in a state of experiment and untried. Now it was clear to the world that the unity of Russia could be achieved only under the Soviets. The power opposed to them could not but recognize this fact. Some parts of Russia (Ukraine) had during the last fifteen months experienced every kind of government, from the Soviets, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the dictatorship of foreign invaders and the dictatorship of a General of the old regime, and they had after all returned to the Soviets. Western European imperialists must realize that the only Government in Russia which rested on the popular masses was the Government of the Soviets and no other. Even the paper of the Mensheviks, commenting on Chicherin's note, had declared that by this step the Soviet Government had shown that it was actually a national Government acting in the interests of the nation. He further read a statement by Right Social Revolutionaries (delegates of that group, members of the Constituent Assembly, were in the gallery) to the effect that they were prepared to help the Soviet Government as the only Government in Russia that was fighting against a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Finally, the Committee unanimously passed a resolution approving every step taken in trying to obtain peace, and at the same time "sending a fraternal greeting to the Red Army of workers and peasants engaged in ensuring the independence of Soviet Russia." The meeting then turned to talk of other things.

I felt, rather miserable to think how little I had foreseen when Soviet Russia was compelled last year to sign an oppressive peace with Germany, that the time would come when they would be trying to buy peace from ourselves. As I went out I saw another unhappy figure, unhappy for quite different reasons. Angelica Balabanova, after dreaming all her life of Socialism in the most fervent Utopian spirit, had come at last to Russia to find that a Socialist state was faced with difficulties at least as real as those which confront other states, that in the battle there was little sentiment and much cynicism and that dreams worked out in terms of humanity in the face of the opposition of the whole of the rest of the world are not easily recognized by their dreamers.

Left Wing Pic-Nic Sunday, August 24th, 1919

at EASTERN BOULEVARD PARK
formerly Hoffman's Park
Eastern Boulevard and Fort Schuyler Road,
WESTCHESTER, N. Y.

Oriental Dances by Miss Katayama
Vladimir Resnikoff, Russian Singer
and many other attractions.

A RED PICNIC — A GREAT TIME
FOR A RED CAUSE

Picnic starts at 10 A. M.

arranged by the

LEFT WING SECTION SOCIALIST
PARTY OF THE BRONX.

Tickets in advance 30c At the gate 35c.
Directions: From E. 149th St. take West-
chester Av. car and change for Fort Schuyler,
get off at the Park.

National Council and New N. E. C.

Dear Comrade Wagenknecht:

THE National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, has decided to sever relations with the new N. E. C. and the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party. In accordance with this decision and my own convictions, I tender my resignation from the N. E. C.

At its sessions, the new N. E. C. decided in favor of an American Communist Party. The realization of this decision now makes mandatory the acceptance of the Communist Party Convention of September 1 as the only real force that assures the actual formation of the Communist Party, which the N. E. C. declared in favor of.

The N. E. C., however, in spite of its declaration, is not assuring the organization of the Communist Party.

In order to make the logical deduction of its declaration, the new N. E. C. should have held an Emergency Convention of its own, as the organ of the Socialist Party, to organize a Communist Party. This was not done; and it was not done because certain members of the new N. E. C., such as Katterfeld and Harwood, are much more interested in the unity of the old party than they are in the construction of a Communist Party.

What was in my mind at the N. E. C. meeting, and what was the basis of the decision to carry the fight to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, was that the new

C. would assume complete control of the Convention. This implied actually holding a Socialist Party convention other than the convention of the old N. E. C. This, again, implied holding our Emergency Convention in a hall other than that secured by the old N. E. C., with our own roster of delegates, and our own organization separate from that of the old N. E. C. But your decision, as Temporary Secretary of the new N. E. C., to hold

Letter from Louis C. Fraina to A. Wagenknecht, Temporary Secretary N. E. C., Socialist Party.

"our" convention in the same hall as Germer's breaks the plan completely. Any Left Wing delegates who now go to the Emergency Convention are going to the convention of Germer & Co., packed by the moderates in order to secure control for counter-revolutionary Socialism.

The original plan for the fight within the party was right; but owing to the defection of the Federation elements and owing—let us admit it—to our own hesitation, this plan was completely spoiled. To adhere to it now, under new conditions, is to co-operate with Centre elements and to act against the Communist Party.

As I see it now, the revolutionary course that the new N. E. C. should have followed was, after its declaration in favor of a Communist Party, either to call for a Communist Party Convention or immediately resign and leave the fulfillment of this declaration to the only body capable of realizing it—the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party. Either of these acts have made the issue clear as a Communist issue; it would have challenged the party; it would have split the old party immediately. But the split apparently was not desired by Katterfeld and Harwood. They want to maintain the unity of the party and throw out the old administration—to "throw out the crooks," as Harwood phrases. Our struggle, however, is not a struggle against the administration or the "crooks," but a struggle to separate the revolutionary elements from the moderate elements, and construct a Communist Party. It is necessary to split the old party in order to realize a Communist Party in fact as well as in name. The new N. E. C. in order actually to realize the Communist Party it resolved in

favor of, must recognize this necessity for a split and rally the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party for the Communist Convention.

I did not realize, at the N. E. C. sessions, that our acts in constructing a new organization of the N. E. C., was not in accord with the project of the Communist Party. I now realize the vital necessity of the new N. E. C. ceasing to function after the declaration for a Communist Party; and I act accordingly by tendering my resignation.

What can be accomplished by going to the convention of Germer & Co.? The state of Ohio has been expelled, and you are now no longer a member of the Socialist Party. You will not be admitted to the Emergency Convention, which is a Germer convention; how, then, can you call it to order as "decided" by the new N. E. C.?

I still maintain my position at the National Left Wing Conference. I still maintain that there was real value in the declaration for a Communist Party by the new N. E. C. But I now maintain that the logical action necessary to realize our purposes is to concentrate all our Left Wing forces for the Communist Party Convention of September 1.

It was simply a flourish for the new N. E. C. to "re-instate" the expelled and suspended comrades, who refuse to go back to the old party and are solid for a Communist Party.

The decision of the National Council in issuing a joint call for a Communist Party Convention is, in my opinion, in complete accord with the purposes of the National Left Wing Conference. Our mandate was to work for the realization of the Communist Party; and the new decision of the National Council is necessary in order to actually realize the Communist Party which the Conference desired.

August 13.

LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Greater New York News

BRONX NOTES

Branch 4 will hold a series of lectures at its headquarters 1258 Boston Road, Bronx, every Thursday evening.

* * *

The headquarters of Local Bronx will be temporarily located at the headquarters of Branch 4, 1258 Boston Road.

Massachusetts Convention

The Special Massachusetts Convention of August 10th endorsed the Joint Call for the September first Communist Convention by vote of 62 to 7. The State Organization was at once made part of the new party to be organized at the Chicago Convention.

This decisive step is all the more significant in that the Convention contained practically no Federation representatives, due to the split in the Left Wing. Massachusetts has about 6000 Socialist Party members, and these are divided into three fairly equal parts. The right Wing is largely made up of Finnish branches, and it is certain that a reactionary officialdom cannot hold this membership out of the Communist Party. One third of the membership had joined itself with the Minority Conference Convention, and this makes two-thirds

of the Massachusetts membership solidly with in the Communist camp at the outset.

Massachusetts has set a splendid example for the nation. The spirit and action of this Special Convention are of the highest promise for the Communist Party—and for the working class movement everywhere.

The Call for Communist Convention (Continued from page 8)

will be created to defray their traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organizations sending delegates. In the event the delegates are not provided with funds for rooms and meals effort will be made to assist them.

Do not fail to be represented at this historic Convention. All delegates, either directly or through their local secretaries, are requested to communicate with the National Secretary immediately following their election. Uniform credential blanks will be furnished.

For the National Left Wing Council,

I. E. FERGUSON, Sec'y.

For the National Organization Committee,

DENNIS E. BATT, Sec'y.

On all matters relating to the Communist Convention, address: 1221 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

THE New York Central Committee at its last meeting decided to reconsider its action to send delegates to the National Emergency Convention and to concur with the National Council's action in issuing a joint call for the Communist Convention in Chicago on September 1st.

Ballots are out and branches are already voting. Those branches which have not yet procured same should do so immediately and call special meetings to vote for the delegates.

Ballots should be in this office by August 20th.

Second Bi-Weekly Letter To Enrolled Socialists—is now ready for distribution to branches. Price per hundred letters 60 cents.

Emergency Due Stamps and Emergency Party cards are now ready and can be procured at this office.

* * *

Special Propaganda Stamps are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should do their best to push the sale of these stamps among the comrades and friends and sympathizers. Every comrade should carry a book of these stamps with him to the shop and union meetings and sell them to his comrades. At the same time it gives him an opportunity of explaining the Left Wing organization to those workers who as yet are in the dark about our movement.

* * *

The 8th A. D. meets every Thursday evening at the Socialist Party Headquarters, 122 Second Ave. All members are requested to send in their new addresses to the Secretary, Comrade Lichtinthal.

MAX COHEN, Executive Sec'y
43 West 20th Street, New York

Joint Call for a Communist Party Convention

After considerable negotiations seeking to eliminate the differences existing between the Communist elements of the Left Wing, as represented by the so-called Minority and Majority of the Left Wing Conference held in New York June 21st to 24th, the National Council of the Left Wing Section Socialist Party realizing the necessity of the organization of the Communist Party of America, in accordance with the decisions of the National Left Wing Conference, realizing also the futility of participating in the proposed Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, does hereby join with the National Organization Committee in issuing the following call for the organization of the Communist Party:

In this the most momentous period of the world's history Capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

Only one Socialism is possible in the crisis. A Socialism based upon understanding. A Socialism that will express in action the needs of the proletariat. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The Communist call of the Third International, the echo of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has evidenced by its expulsion of nearly half of the membership that it will not hesitate at wrecking the organization in order to maintain control. A crisis has been precipitated in the ranks of revolutionary Socialism by the wholesale expulsion or suspension of the membership comprising the Socialist Party of Michigan and Massachusetts, Locals and Branches throughout the country, together with seven language federations. This has created a condition in our movement that makes it manifestly impossible to longer delay the calling of a convention to organize a new party. Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is but an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the "right" and "center" to sink together with their leaders.

No other course is possible; therefore, we, the National Left Wing Council and the National Organization Committee, call a convention to meet in the city of Chicago on September 1st, 1919, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party in America.

This party will be founded upon the following principles:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the powers of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers, and for the re-organization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance-oligarchy, with

its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within the process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper class rule, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of the working class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups: (a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangers of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center," representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The Communists.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the "center" is necessary.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Communist movement, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Chicago 1st

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist party is to carry on propaganda for the abolition of this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Communist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialist barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletariat of all lands to unite!

Program of the Call

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Party of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacists of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-Partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership Leagues and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchistic or democratic-republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. The Party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaign should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic development of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Communist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in

the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

(b) The implication of this demand should be illustrated by the steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of Communism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no separate city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactic of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the Council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated, of a centralized party organization.

* * *

Organizations endorsing the principles and program outlined above as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the Convention at Chicago on September first, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every additional 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, that States which are organized and endorsing this call shall send delegates as States. In States which are not organized the organized locals accepting this call shall send delegates as locals. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send delegates.

Provided further, that organizations composed of less than 251 members shall be given fractional votes and provided that the total vote for each State represented at the Convention shall not exceed one, plus one per five hundred members or major fraction thereof.

Organizations sending delegates will be assessed Fifty Dollars for each delegate. This fund will be applied to equalize the railroad fare of all delegates to the Convention of all delegates having less than 251 Organizations having less than 251 members which are unable to pay all of this amount (\$50.00) are urged

(Continued on page 7)